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INTRODUCTION

some insights into what is now taking place on the Chinese mainland. For many of the changes now taking place both in Taiwan and on the mainland are primarily due to the same cause—the encroachment of urbanization on a traditionally agrarian culture, whether enforced by the Japanese, the Nationalist Chinese, or the Chinese Communists.

FIELD METHODS AND PROBLEMS

In the selection of a research site, I looked for a Taiwanese village with several attributes. These were that the inhabitants be of mainland origin, preferably descendants of early emigrants from the province of Fukien; that the village have agriculture as its primary means of livelihood; that it have a moderate-sized population, preferably between five hundred and one thousand inhabitants, to facilitate the achievement of familiarity with most of the people and with all aspects of village cultural life; that it be fairly traditional both culturally and socially and as typical as possible of the general villages in that area; and that housing be available inside the village for me, my wife, and our interpreter. It was also important that the village not be too near a major city, and yet not be geographically or culturally isolated from the main flow of Taiwanese life; it had to be identifiable as a definite community.

And, of course, it was important that the villagers be receptive to having a foreign observer move into the village.

It is no easy task to search for a village in which to carry on research in an unfamiliar country. The island of Taiwan, which on the map appears to be minute, is actually 250 miles long from north to south and 90 miles wide; it has an area of 13.8 thousand square miles.

At the start of my search, I talked with the staff of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), a Chinese and American agency which plays an important role in rural development in Taiwan. They briefed me on the cultural and geographic areas of rural Taiwan, and we decided that the *hsien* (counties) of Chang-hua, Taichung, and Yun Lin (all on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan) offered the best possibilities for a suitable village. The next step was to travel by jeep within this area with JCRR field agents to visit many different kinds of villages and make a final choice. The interpreter, whom I hired at that time to live and work with my wife and me in the village, was a companion on these excursions. (For a discussion of translation methods and the use of the interpreter in the field see Appendix 1.)

During the time we were investigating the many villages, we also visited local Farmers' Associations and *hsiang* (district) public offices. We held many long discussions with local officials to get additional

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the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

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The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

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The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

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The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

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At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)⁴ as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18-42).⁵

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The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

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has brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

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After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

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LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

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words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

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Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

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In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1943, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

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Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

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The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

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Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

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The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien* *chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

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work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT \$15-20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsing Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT \$5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

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clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267-274) and in Japan (Embrece, 1939:138-147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.⁶ If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

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the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

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ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

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body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

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While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

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Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

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There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

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That Hsin Hsing *tsu* are more than merely ceremonial is seen in the way various individual unrelated families, because they share a common surname with a *tsu*, try to identify with it and, to a small degree, do absorb some of the hoped for and actual sociopolitical benefits and security which seem to accrue to members of the larger village *tsu* organizations. (This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.)

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Each village *tsu* can therefore be seen as attempting to exert sociopolitical influence in the village and sometimes also in the immediate area in competition with other *tsu*. So as not to weaken its position in face of the rest of the village, each *tsu* works hard to confine its internal conflicts within the *tsu* itself. Therefore, their own respected (and usually well-off) elders serve as mediators for the solution of intra-*tsu* conflict. In case of inter-*tsu*, general village, or intervillage conflict, these same *tsu* leaders have usually been recognized by the villagers as the most likely people to be able to bring a conflict to a successful solution.

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As we have seen above and will see more of here and in Chapter 6, the Hsin Hsing village area kinship organizations, despite their relatively small size and minimum formalization, nevertheless do display a relative functional equivalence to Hu's (1948) and Freedman's (1958) images of a *tsu* and thus are clearly to be considered as *tsu* organizations, as they are by their members. One might further note that for the *tsu* organizations in Hsin Hsing village, there appears to be no inherent relationship between structure and function. The most important feature of such groupings is that their activities (such as their sociopolitical ones) be carried out within the local community and perhaps the larger area, and these seem to be carried through here with a minimum of formal structure. Since *tsu* is not to be thought of as a static organizational phenomenon but rather as having a kind of evolution with stages going from incipience through decay, a *tsu* in its early or incipient stages of development could then exist on a very small scale, be rather weak in its formal organization and activities and even in its functional effectiveness, and yet still maintain itself as a *tsu*.

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What is also worth noting (and what we will see more of in Chapter 6), is that conditions in the Taiwanese rural area have been working against the likelihood of these unelaborated *tsu* ever developing into truly mature *tsu*. This seems to be true in the case of the adverse effect on the rural *tsu* organizations by the Japanese during their period of occupation of Taiwan and the recently changing socioeconomic conditions, such as the Land Reform Program, which prohibit the *tsu* from acquiring corporate landholdings and inhibit *tsu* members from achieving great landed wealth within the rural area. In addition, it also appears that as a result of these past and recent developments the

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deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears. (539)

Middle-aged village women often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how", several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore. 796
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Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,² and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities. 796
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In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time 796
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In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

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Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

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Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tsu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the *de facto* govern-

178 including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same
433 time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantsuchiao. More recently,
274 a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin,
346 and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town
256 of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all
278 those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for
288 some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural
144 income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the
need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming
178 pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of
179 Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly
149 effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant
244 mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically.
165 Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the
161 future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however,
464 these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the
178 village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug
464 factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is re-
871 quired, and without such education the villagers might never have been
able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities.
[212] Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first
decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took
place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

178 differences. When asked where their ancestors originated on the main-
186 land, several younger villagers told us that they didn't know. "That's
something you should ask the old people about."

186 But while the ethnic lines distinguishing the various Hokkien
• 648 groups have blurred with time; there still remains a sharp distinction
191 between the island's two major language groups, the Hokkien and the
Hakka. People can now talk in a disinterested manner about differences
between Changchou and Chuanchou customs, but it is always with a cer-
tain amount of scorn that one compares the ways of the Hakka and the
Hokkien. On their return from the burial site a Hokkien funeral
party always stops at every stream or roadway to invite the soul of the
deceased to cross the barrier. After explaining to us that this was so
"the soul will always be able to find its way home," one villager
then noted, "but the Hakka don't do this. They don't care whether
their ancestors can find their way back or not." As a result of such
prejudices, marriages between the two groups are still uncommon.
Although Hsiachichou is only a few miles from an area in which the
majority of the population is Hakka, our genealogies include only two
marriages with a Hakka, and both of these occurred within the past five
years.

186 Whatever the villagers' attitude toward marrying Hakka, it is not
582 nearly so negative as their attitude toward marrying what they speak
648 of as "mainlanders," those Chinese who have settled on Taiwan since
World War II. One reason is that many village parents fear that if
they allow a daughter to marry a mainlander they may never see her

186 again. As one woman put it, "I don't want my daughter to marry a main-
582 lander. 'If you marry a chicken you have to follow a chicken, and
• 648 if you marry a dog, you have to follow a dog.' If she married a main-
lander she would have to go with him, and then I might never see her
again." Considering the government's insistence that a return to the
mainland is imminent, this particular fear is not an irrational one, at
least from the point of view of people in Hsiachichou, but the general
attitude of the village towards marrying mainland Chinese probably
contains more prejudice than reason. The mainlander is seen as immoral,
irresponsibile, and generally lacking in human qualities, a view for
which the villagers find some justification in the behavior of the local
police and the military. One man told us that no matter what happened
he wouldn't allow his daughter to marry a mainlander. "If they say
they are going to go they go, and they don't care if their wives and
children are alive or dead." When one village family did allow their
daughter to marry a Cantonese policeman, their neighbors were incredulous.
As the woman herself told us later, "Everyone said to me, 'Aren't you
afraid that he will sell you? Aren't you afraid that he won't want
you after you are married awhile? Don't you worry that he will always
be beating you?'"

582 But while the people of Hsiachichou are thus prejudiced against
marriage with other ethnic groups, they do not favor marriage within
the same community. To contract a marriage within the village is con-
sidered dangerous "because then your daughter-in-law will always be
running home to say things to her parents." The villagers recognize that

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so sad that they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her "red packet," and so the go-between didn't dare to come and get her money. My father's brother was an important man, and so she didn't dare come.... The reason my family only chose to give a girl to families with sons was to save a lot of trouble and because it sounded better. When an adopted daughter marries out of her foster family, people say, "Oh, that woman who married twice!"

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This difference in attitude towards the two forms of adoption is reflected in the size of the bride price given in the two cases. Whereas the bride price in the case of sīn-pūā form of adoption is usually only a token of fifty or sixty dollars, the bride price in the case of the lōng-lū form of adoption is often four or five hundred dollars. The family who adopts a girl without having a son for her to marry apparently has to compensate her parents for the loss of face they suffer in giving a girl away in this manner. Although this is only speculation, it is perhaps for this reason that a lōng-lū adoption is sometimes spoken of as though it were a financial transaction. A sīn-pūā is always spoken of as having "married out" of her natal family, even before she actually becomes a wife, but the lōng-lū is sometimes said to have been "sold." The term is often used scornfully, and implies something of the low regard in which this form of adoption is held.

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This negative attitude towards the lōng-lū form of adoption stems in part from its having become identified with the adoption of girls as domestics. Hoping to eliminate the abuses resulting from the adoption of cū-bō-kān, the Japanese colonial government attempted to outlaw such adoptions. Under the Japanese civil code one could

*599 only register an adopted female child as a lông-lù or a sīn-pūā. The
357 adoption of female children as cā-bô-kàn was illegal and punishable by
• 648 fine. The inevitable result of such a restriction was that the lông-lù
form of adoption was used as a means of concealing adoptions which would
formerly have been of the cā-bô-kàn variety. Because of the commitment
to a marriage it was both difficult and dangerous for a family to
register a cā-bô-kàn as a sīn-pūā, but it was easy enough to change the
*599 child's surname and have her registered as a lông-lù. Even today one
357 finds in the households of some of the wealthier Haulin families adopted
daughters who are clearly no more than long-term servants. Adopted
by their foster families when they are five or six years of age, they
are given their foster parents surnames and registered as lông-lù so
when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen they marry out of the
family. In the meantime they are kept busy with cooking, cleaning,
the care of children, and sundry other household chores. The only
difference between their position and that of the cā-bô-kàn of fifty
years ago is that they are not eligible to marry a member of the family
because of their official status as a daughter of the family.

*597 A second reason for the relatively low status of the lông-lù form
548 of adoption is its association with prostitution. As we shall see
later, women who are themselves prostitutes often fear that they will
not be able to marry, and as a result feel that they need to find "a
stick to lean on." The natural solution is to adopt a daughter and

[435] raise her to the profession. Considering that some of the successful
[434] professionals earn as much as NT\$5000 to NT\$6000 a month, the three or

Iu Mui-mue: A Rejected Bride

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husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ien and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT\$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ien: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ien: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ien found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ien the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ien because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money, Lim Chui-ien admitting that even she had

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162 and are contrasted with the "Taiwanese," those Chinese who were residents or descendants of residents before establishment of the Japanese suzerainty.

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162 In 1945, the population of Taiwan was about
563 6,560,000 (Hsieh, 1964:212). During the next four years
T about 400,000 Japanese returned home and 100,000 Taiwan-
167 ese came back from Japan (Hsieh, 1964:185). The net loss was offset by the migrants from the mainland which included 600,000 military personnel plus civilians conservatively estimated at a half-million and perhaps twice that (Fried, 1966:288). Most estimates today state Mainlanders constitute nearly 15 per cent of the population but some estimates range as high as 25 per cent (Latour-ette, 1964:42). Instead of a random sample of mainland population, the Mainlanders consisted of two rather distinct groups: a military one, not wealthy, most without dependents, and an urbanized Westernized set of business men, government officials, and professionals with their families. In either case, they tended to settle in urban areas.

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563 Mainlanders and Taiwanese are not yet amalgamated
T and relations between them are often strained. Fried
H states that:
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The Nationalist government actively seeks to build an image of present-day Taiwan that features peaceful, pleasant accommodation as the mode of interaction between Taiwanese and Mainlanders. There is ample evidence . . . that the

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picture thus presented falls short of the reality--although overt antigovernment activity is subdued to the point that casual observers may be led to believe it nonexistent (1966:296).

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- 648 This is a reasonable estimate of the situation. Many Taiwanese villagers I chatted with in several places on the island feel that they and the Mainlanders are different. They would generally be pleased to maintain the present level of social distance.⁴ It appears that the government program of indoctrination and education in a common single language plus the effects of social interaction and intermarriage are reducing the extent of social distance.

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Unlike Taiwan, mainland China is largely cut off from the remainder of the world. Her leaders have had little experience outside China. Few foreigners are permitted to reside in China or visit as tourists and even then, the movements of foreigners are greatly restricted. In contrast, Taiwan has a large resident foreign population, primarily American Military personnel, their dependents, and supporting organizations. Moreover, Taiwan is a major "Rest and Recreation" center for American troops from Vietnam, 40,000 per year, and is fast becoming a major tourist attraction, particularly for the Japanese. Most foreigners live in the large cities and their suburbs, particularly Taipei. English language signs abound and canned and dry Western foods are to be found in almost every grocery store even in remote

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62) general story.

Other families continued to migrate to Sanlei and to the other villages in the area. By no later than 1880, the village reached a population of slightly over forty families and it seemed to remain about that size until 579 after the Restoration. In the nearby mountains, some li families took up banditry which continued into the twentieth century. A favorite crime was kidnapping for ransom. The bandits were able to make temporary liaisons with the aborigines. Some current villagers are descendants of bandits and still possess the consequent stigma.

[582] Several people told me that one of the reasons for preferring to bring in brides from the south was they were less likely to have descended from bandits. One powerful and influential man in the li is the son of the last bandit chief.

- 648 The arrival of the Japanese at first had little
- 579 effect on the village for the area was remote and there was only one narrow foot path from the village in the direction of Hsin Tien. The continuing activities of the bandits were not tolerated by the Japanese. In 1905, a punitive expedition was sent into the mountains. This force greatly frightened villagers and many fled and hid in the mountains. Unfortunately, it was difficult to distinguish between bandit and farmer and about 15 or 16 Sanlei villagers were killed and about one third of the

* 648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
579 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within
the memory of older informants who were quite incensed
about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions,
there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated
with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited finan-
cially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late
thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was
a branch of a more important and permanent station in
Fouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien
(see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an
auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[778] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
[776] a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets
and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It
became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct
business with the government. The policemen carried long
[466] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
[653] impressed village men into labor battalions for road and
sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee
work at locations not in the immediate village area.

[822] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

- 648 sentiment towards the Japanese. Most villagers now claim
177 a man was beaten only when it was deserved and labor work
[829] was shared equally except during the war when some men
were conscripted into labor battalions and sent to other
countries.

648 The Japanese ruled Taiwan somewhat after the pat-
631 tern of the British in India, i.e., they worked through
632 the local system and local officials.³ Talei was divided
into two parts, two separate pao as part of the pao chia
system.⁶ T'oulei and Erhlei were combined in one pao and
the remaining three villages into another. All five were
not reunited into a single administrative unit until
after the Restoration. The two pao represented a cleavage
along traditional factional lines. (Details of this fac-
tionalism are discussed more fully in Chapter IV.) The
factions seemingly are based on a regional factor, one
end of the li against the other, but there are also dif-
ferences in ecological conditions and the respective value
systems, T'oulei and Erhlei have less land and are more
progressive. Although the five villages have always coop-
erated in maintenance of the li temple located in Erhlei
and the li has but one school, the two factions are an
uneasy combination. At present, each faction is represen-
tated in all administrative bodies, i.e., if the li chang
(mayor) is from one faction, then the representative is

* 648 from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit
[631] head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.
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871 Many of the men but only a few women learned some
648 Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese
school was established in Pouti near the police station
and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male,
were permitted to attend. It appears that although there
were increases as time passed, total attendance never
exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age
groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was
operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 stu-
dents attend regularly.

648 Economically, there were many improvements. The
177 narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road.
[49] Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very
[316] narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin
[496] Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad
[245] improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations,
common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about
[245] the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started
[242] to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varie-
[494] ties, fertiliser, insecticide, and farming techniques in-
creased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese
introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties
which increased the flow of information to the village.

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[466] Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions, some for short periods nearby and others were sent to conquered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid factory was built near the village during the war and just before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is interesting that the story of the attack was always repeated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from Sanlei, listed last.)

- 175 When control was returned to the Chinese (referred to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased. Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive. He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr, 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In
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648 spite of the arguments of the official government, the Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establishment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish themselves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Mainlanders are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

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The Taiwanese seemingly equate some Mainlanders

- 648 with villagers in Fukien, although as previously suggested, the Mainlanders were not representative of rural Fukien. This mistaken identity helps support the villagers' belief that the Taiwanese are now significantly different from the Fukienese still in China. It would seem that the real differences are probably not great. That is, the differences in cultural behavior of the people of Taiwan as compared with those from Fukien was probably no greater than the differences between the latter and the people from Kansu or Hunan. The differences between urban and rural types are probably considerable in any location. However, for predicting behavior, particularly motivated behavior, subjective reality may be more important than objective reality. Taiwanese and Mainlander are self-identified as different groups. Each is an "in group" and treats the other as an "out group." The Taiwanese generally feel that the present government is controlled by "outsiders."

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Sanlei village as well as the entire li has prospered during the last twenty years subsequent to the re-

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turn of control to the Chinese. Agricultural techniques have continued to progress, and production is at its

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highest levels in history. The farmers' association has

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been most active in introducing improved techniques and providing supplies such as insecticides, new seeds, and fertilizer.

621 fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines
[433] and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural
[464] economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of demo-
[571] cratic participation in decision-making processes has in-
[871] creased. The li now has its own school with attendance
reaching nearly 100%.

632 As part of a war dispersal process, the government
648 established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei,
the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the
Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they
are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents
had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part
of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate
in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do
not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily
to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic
reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei
towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level
of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese
and berate them.

494 To facilitate transportation to the Communication
648 Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way
[499] from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a
[653] route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each
day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, pos-
sessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks.

655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei
[464] Li and Hein Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a

• 648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation
829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of

[191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the

[186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of

648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More-

829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for

511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable,

officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers.

One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's

basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in

agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

511 other kinds of physical evidence, we contrasted the average
• 648 day's wage and the average cost of rice and pork under the
829 Japanese and under the current conditions and by computa-
tion proved that a day's labor now bought more pork or
more rice than it had under the Japanese. The men felt
that there was either something wrong with their memory
of rates or prices or that our figuring now was incorrect.
They knew they earned more under the Japanese in real in-
come. It is plain that the facts and beliefs are not in
accord. Probably adding to the romanticization of the
period is the fact that the Japanese were few in number
when compared with the Mainlanders. In a typical week for
instance, only about a dozen or so Japanese appeared in
Talei Li. Today, with the Communication Bureau, the
school, the police, and various salesmen, several hundred
Mainlanders may be observed in a single week.

171 Government propagandists, the schools, and the army
186 are all engaged in an attempt to overcome the antagonisms
648 on both sides. The incidence of inter-marriages between
groups is increasing. The eventual goal of the government
is a united Taiwan but success is not certain. Chinese
history provides many examples of two culturally different
groups, racially near identical, living side by side in
the same area for hundreds of years while preserving dis-
tinct identities. For example, a minority group of Hakka
have maintained and still maintain a separate ethnic and

171 linguistic identity after a residence of several hundred
186 years in Fukien from whence the majority of Taiwanese mi-
• 648 grated. This separate identity has extended into Taiwan-
[871] ese and Hakka settlements on Taiwan. Currently, the en-
[701] forced use of a single language, Mandarin, in the schools
and the army (both of which are compulsory for males
while schools are compulsory for females) should aid in
breaking down the communication barriers and help lead to
amalgamation between Mainlanders and Taiwanese.

The Population

000 The total population of Taiwan in 1966 was 13,383,357
(United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:808). There has
been a tremendous expansion in recent years. The 1940
Japanese census listed 6,077,478 which grew to 6,560,000
by 1946 at the time of the Restoration (Hsieh, 1964:206).
There was a great influx of Mainlanders following the loss
of mainland China to the communists, undoubtedly exceeding
a million people.

Taiwan's population can be divided into a number
of categories as is done regularly in the official records.
With approximate official percentages listed for 1963,
the categories are foreigners (negligible), aborigines (1),
Taiwanese (86), and Mainlanders (13) (Hsieh, 1964:206).
The Taiwanese may be further divided into Hakka, Hokkien,
and minor numbers of others.

66 agnatic and affinal, add another dimension to this complexity for most of the residents are members of families whose forefathers occupied the village over an extended period of time. The effects of alliances or feuds in the past often continue to be important long after the original principals have disappeared from the scene.

591 Other important governmental or quasi-governmental organizations which influence local affairs include the school and parent teacher's association, police organization, farmers' association, and fruit cooperative. Completely informal units which are important include two temple organizations, various sworn brothers and god's organizations, and several cooperative work groups.

The various kind of social groups discussed above mean that no individual is an isolated unit. He is necessarily involved intimately in a large number of social groups, some in conflict, forcing a choice between alternatives. Although the priorities are not always clear, the general agreement is that the family is usually the most important social group. Most new residents are quickly incorporated into various units. Only a few outsiders such as Mainlanders remain relatively isolated but even Mainlanders can become relatively involved if they behave in accordance with village norms over an extended period of time.

231 considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that
[369] city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they
[261] prefer less fat.

231 Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only
[433] \$280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit
[657] was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of
• [648] the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any
case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes
has created the belief that no one can make a profit rais-
ing pigs although the government, through the farmers'
231 association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The
433 village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the asso-
474 ciation have attended several meetings concerned with en-
couraging hog production. Although they have passed out
much literature, they have had little success in promoting
pig production. No small part of their failure is because
they too believe that there is little profit in pigs al-
though in order to set an example, both are raising more
231 pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable
241 for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only
farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for
231 fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a
[688] family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast.
Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out
a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at
the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently
is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

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These practices are not obvious to the casual observer for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

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In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are

- [648] not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is
- [829] some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are higher, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited
- [135]
[514] guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

National Government

• 648

The present government on Taiwan is broadly based on the principles advocated by Dr. Sun Yat Sen. It currently appears that elements of all three of Dr. Sun's stages are in effect simultaneously, i.e., military government, political tutelage, and constitutional government (Plummer, 1967:135). There is a written constitution which appears to provide a democratic government divided into branches: National Assembly, Legislative Yuan, Central Yuan, Examination Yuan, and Judicial Yuan. The government is a complex system of checks and balances combining elements of the cabinet and presidential systems.

Since the overthrow of the Manchus and establishment of the republic in 1911, the Republic of China has been beset with wars, internal, Japanese, and communist, and has never had full control of all of its claimed territory. These kinds of difficulties necessitated special measures such as the "Temporary Provisions" to the constitution enacted in 1948 which give the president special emergency powers during this period of national crisis. Additionally, elected government officials at the federal level are considered to represent all China. The term of office of most incumbents have been extended by special provisions until control of the Mainland is re-established making it possible to conduct elections. Since most Chinese territory is now under Communist control, the

- 648 majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.¹

648 Even to this extent, the village does not really
829 participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a major new market. Government policies are increasing educational opportunities. The universal military draft, in addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military obligations. A few villagers read the national news and most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

665 Although there are a number of minor political parties, Taiwan essentially has a one-party government run by the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China). The party maintains scattered branch offices throughout Taiwan such as the one in Hsin Tien which includes Talei Li in its area of responsibility. Several villagers have joined the party although only a few remain active.

66 Party membership is not necessary for important political offices as demonstrated by the elections conducted in the early part of 1968 when officials who were not members of the Kuomintang captured about 20% of the seats in the local elections and 10 of 71 provincial seats. Also, the mayors of two of the largest cities in Taiwan, Taipei and Kaohsiung, are not party members (Plummer, 1969: 19). Nevertheless, as revealed by these same figures, members of the Kuomintang captured a majority of the seats as usual. Moreover, successful candidates who do not belong to the Kuomintang usually run as independents rather than as members of an organized opposition party.

There are occasional arrests for political or ideological reasons and rumors of many more to such a degree that many rural people believe that to get involved in politics may be to court arrest.

Provincial Government

• 648 Taiwan is one province of the Republic of China with its capital near Taichung in central Taiwan. Its main

- 648 • 648 branches of government are the directly elected Provincial
Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Execu-
tive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall
responsibility to carry out the national policies with
648 particular attention to economic development. For the
829 village, a situation not unlike the attitude described
for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware
of most provincial decisions and do not really participate
meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at
the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects
on village life.

County Government

- 648 The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties
[634] and 3 cities, each with local self-government.² Sanlei
village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed
666 by an elected magistrate. The last election for the coun-
try council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year
term. Elections at this level do generate some interest
in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly
eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although
only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret.
Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20
or over, and six months residence; qualifications for of-
fice are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is
656 a federal law, applicable at every level of government
666
562

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665 Important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

178 Historically, self government on the local level
621 has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level.

• [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

666 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact
562 that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other men just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

632 chain of command of government from citizen to lin, li,
621 township, county, province, and republic. A li and a
ts'un may cover exactly the same territory; a ts'un may
contain two or more li; or a li may contain two or more
ts'un. Since villages may vary in population from 50 to
12,000 or more, the village is not a reasonable unit for
local government given the goal that the local units
should all be nearly equal in population. Therefore,
smaller villages have been combined into a single li and
larger villages have been divided into two or more li.
The formal system does take ts'un boundaries into consid-
eration. For instance, although there are six lin in
Sanlei ts'un, no lin cuts across ts'un lines to include
members with conflicting ts'un identities.

632 Regional Factions in the Li

628 One of the two primary sets of factions in Talei
665 Li is regionally based, two villages at one end of the li,
621 T'oulei and Ehlei, opposed to the three at the other end,
Sanlei, Szu lei, and Wu lei (see Figure 1). Because the
Mainlanders in Wu lei do not participate in li political
activities, the factions are about balanced in population.

• [648] Under the Japanese, each of these two factions existed as
a pao in the Japanese system of local government for Tai-
wan.³ Since each pao had different experiences with dif-
ferent sets of leaders, there is some historical as well

* 829 villagers but to be avoided if possible. "When two men go to court, both always lose," (see Glossary C) is a
• 648 statement often repeated by villagers. Sanlei's usual direct contact with the police is through its own local policeman. Taiwan has a national police force organized like an army and divided into districts and branches. The closest branch office to Talei is in Pouti, a subdivision of a higher level unit in Hsin Tien. The policemen and their families, primarily Mainlanders, live next to the police station, usually spending several years at one place. The Japanese usually had transferred policemen every six months, a policy which did not permit the establishment of close relationships between policemen and villager which is now common in Taiwan. Villagers know the names of many different police officials in Pouti and a number are usually invited to large social or religious affairs in the village.

There is one policeman assigned full-time to Talei Li with a goal of crime prevention rather than detection and apprehension. To be effective, he must establish good relations with villagers. The previously assigned policeman, recently promoted, had been with the li many years and was both respected and popular. The new man, assigned during our stay, was having a difficult time although he was not really responsible for his difficulties for it is always hard to replace a popular man in any capacity.

- 648 Moreover, he has little fluency in Taiwanese and since many villagers do not speak Mandarin, he had an especially difficult job communicating. Using another villager as an untrained interpreter presents its own unique problems.

685 The police are in charge of crime when it does oc-
[674]cur although crime is fairly rare in the village as com-
pared with the city. Most crimes in the rural area are
classified into two types: external, as when an outsider
steals material goods, or internal, as when a resident
steals near-ripe agricultural products or dried wood.
About half the outsiders are caught and dealt with through
the courts. Most of the internal thieves are caught but
rarely do the cases reach the courts. Instead, they are
treated in the same manner that applies to arguments and
disputes among fellow residents, i.e., the thief and vic-
tim are merely considered to be two disputants.

Mediation and Legal Processes

- 627 Internal disputes are usually settled internally by a process of mediation. A mediator goes back and forth between disputants listening to the respective stories and repeating them. Eventually, the two sides are brought into each other's presence. If a compromise still can not be reached, they may agree to resort to the temple to have the gods make a settlement.⁷

648 Even outside the village, Taiwan's formal system of civil courts starts with a regular mediation or

• 648 arbitration board. The arbitration is not binding and may be rejected by either party in the same manner as in the village. In either case, however, pressure is placed on disputants to accept the recommendations of the mediator. The pressure in the formal system is mandatory, i.e., appearance in a regular court if no agreement is reached and in the local system, is due to the prestige of the mediator if he is a local leader or due to the fact the mediator is a policeman. If the latter cannot settle the case informally, someone is going to be arrested, perhaps both disputants.

627 Mediation is important for all kinds of local conflict resolution. Mediators are men who are considered wise, reasonable, and respected and therefore, their recommendations are reasonable and only an uncooperative unreasonable man would refuse to accept them. One accepts a recommended compromise or becomes branded as unreasonable and unfair.

It usually takes a while before the mediator makes any suggestion or recommendation. He starts by carrying information back and forth between disputants and is also persuasive for both sides. Elders are usually mediators but qualities other than age are also necessary. Since a mediator must be vigorous, very old men can seldom serve. Mediators should also be reasonably successful and have a reputation for honesty and integrity. Finally,

625 participant receives \$4.00 to purchase noodles. As
[433] stated previously, sworn brothers associations sometimes
[573] mount the patrol in other periods on their own initiative
as a community service without any contributions.

Once a month, the I Ching go to the police station
in Fouti for training conducted by the policeman assigned
to the li with the help of other officers in the station.
Occasionally, a high ranking officer from Hsin Tien comes
in to give a pep talk. The efficiency of the force and
the degree of assistance obtained is purely dependent on
the kind of relationship the policeman is able to estab-
lish with villagers. Although considerable force and
power is his by virtue of his office, villagers can make
his job relatively easy or very difficult. The previous
policeman had been stationed in Sanlei for many years and

[648] had excellent relations with villagers. Most police are
Mainlanders, one of whom was assigned shortly after our
study began. Since he only spoke a few words of
Taiwanese and those with an accent, he was having a
[91] difficult time. Many villagers speak no Mandarin and
several that know some Mandarin refuse to speak it.

434 If a thief is captured, the I Ching on duty get a
reward of \$120.00 each (more than two days regular pay)
and the policeman in charge of the li gets a citation
of merit. One third of the reward comes from the
donations, one third from the police station in Hsin
Tien, and one third from the main police station in

625 Taipei along with a letter commendation. Additionally, the I Ching and policeman have their pictures taken together at the station in Pouti and are presented copies later at the village temple by the local police chief. This custom helps to break down the natural antagonisms between police and villager by instilling the idea they are united in a task to prevent robbery and catch thieves.

625 There was a similar organization under the Japanese
648 but at that time the volunteers had more training, a
681 regular uniform, and discipline was more harsh. According to informants, a Japanese policeman always beat ransgressors on the spot in public, but this never seems to happen with Chinese policemen although there were rumors of beatings at the police stations. The policeman now uses persuasion, attempts mediation, or relies on the courts.

685 If the I Ching capture a thief, they are instructed
625 to send for the policemen in Pouti. A Mainlander was caught some years ago, arrested and as far as villagers were able to learn, was quickly released by the police who were fellow Mainlanders. Therefore, before the police arrive all captured thieves are thoroughly beaten with sticks but are not killed and even villagers not on duty are all awakened to contribute blows. Since every man in the village and perhaps several from nearby villages participate, it would be difficult to prosecute them all.

625 The whole li contributes men to make up the patrol
632

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625 and it thus is a unifying force since there are presently
632 55 members, 18 of them from Sanlei. As stated, Sanlei
often mounts its own patrol in periods when the li patrol
is not active. The fact that Sanlei is the only li village
that mounts this extra patrol supports my contention that
Sanlei is more integrated.

Corvee

653 There has been a tradition in China of using local
651 labor for civic works, road repair, bridge construction,
public building maintenance, etc. Local villagers are
653 assessed so many days of service per year. The system of
648 corvee was continued under the Japanese but was quite
harsh for every adult male had to contribute a heavy
amount of labor every year. The work might be performed
locally, but some men were conscripted into work groups
and taken from the village for two-week periods, usually
to dig ditches or work on road maintenance. During
World War II, several village men were conscripted into
Japanese labor battalions. One village man worked at the
American prisoner of war camp near Taipei. Several li
men were taken to other islands under Japanese control:
two went to the Philippines and were returned by the
Americans after the end of the war. Their earnings were
in Japanese Yen and are still on deposit in a Japanese
bank and will not be returned until after treaty nego-
tiations between the Republic of China and Japan are

653 concluded although the enormous post-war decrease in the
648 value of the Yen has made the savings minuscule.

653 The system of corvee labor has continued under the
651 Chinese Nationalists but is now considered to be much more
equitable. Labor is still required but the load is light
and accomplished only in the immediate area of Talei Li.
Moreover, it is possible to buy your way out of the
[465] required labor. Since \$10.00 is recognized as the equal
of a full day's corvee labor while \$50.00 constitutes a
normal day's wages, the work can be seen to be considered
very light. The rich tea owner and processor previously
discussed does no corvee work but his \$10.00 contributions
are used for the material which might be required such
as nails.

Nevertheless, it is desired that everyone possible
work on corvee projects. Most villagers respond to the
appeals which are made to civic pride and do participate.
The work projects are treated almost as a game for no man
653 works very hard. Since a villager accumulates a day's
461 corvee labor credit for working on any project either for
651 a day or until it is completed whichever is less, most
projects are overloaded with workers and each man contri-
butes little labor. For example, a foot bridge was built
across the creek when the water was quite high from the
winter floods. The Li Chang (mayor) and I estimated that
the bridge could have been completed in a single day by
three or four men. However, twenty-six village men worked

• 648 Hsiang Lu (Censer) versus Shen Wei (Ancestor Tablet)

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Although ancestral tablets are common throughout China, they are relatively rare in Sanlei Ts'un as a direct result of the Japanese occupation. Many tablets were destroyed along with the houses when pacifying the bandits and others were individually destroyed later in a deliberate Japanization process as part of an attempt to destroy any continued roots to Mainland China. The lack of tablets has had little effect on ancestor worship for Sanlei data suggest the hsiang lu (ancestral incense pot) may be more important for ancestor worship than the ancestor tablets.

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On this point, the literature is somewhat vague.

769

Although the ancestor cult and rituals have been described many times, the concentration has usually been on the shen wei (ancestor or soul tablets) rather than the hsiang lu. Many accounts of ancestral worship specifically note that there are no shen wei, but conversely, no account seems to note the absence of the hsiang lu although some do not mention it in the description of a worship activity. Gallin emphasizes the presence of the god's statues and ancestral tablets in the kung t'ing (1966:239). He also lists the incense receptacles in a list of other items (op. cit.) but in another section (1966:220) claims that one of the three ancestral spirits lives in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room⁶ which suggests the censer is necessary. Martin Yang's description of ancestral worship in Shantung